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HUMAN PROGRESS

A Study of Modern Civilization

A HANDBOOK OF EIGHT LECTURES

BY

EDWARD HOWARD GRIGGS

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HUMAN PROGRESS

A STUDY OF MODERN CIVILIZATION

A HANDBOOK OF EIGHT LECTURES BY
EDWARD HOWARD GRIGGS

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THE PASSING OF ZEUS

The Egyptian chiselled out dumb, granite gods,
Vague monsters, brute and human, whose vast size
O'er-powered their maker, man, and cast him down
In abject terror at their moveless feet.

The Greek with free and cheerful hymn of praise
Carved human gods, wise, sweet and beautiful,
The breathing images of earthly thought,
Made with the calm restraint of perfect art,
Which knows that greatness is not in unformed,
Colossal shapes, but in the clear portrayal
Of dreams that touch man's heart with heavenly fire.

Man carves no longer gods of speechless stone—
The lesson of the ages has been learned:
Veiled Isis, mighty Memnon, Horus, and
Those fair Greek gods, eternal in their youth—
Great Zeus, wise virgin Pallas, Aphrodite,
Apollo golden-haired—these dwell unseen
Within the temple of the human heart,—
The temple of the ages, vast, mysterious,
The shrine of all the gods to whom the prayers
Of men in epochs numberless have risen.

Man stands to-day serene and fearless, free,
No longer dominated by the forms
That body forth his own imaginings,
Knowing the meaning and the destiny
Of all the ages lies within his soul.

—Edward Howard Griggs, *The New Humanism*, pp. 234, 235.

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SPIRIT OF THE COURSE

FEW periods in the history of the world have been so full of fermentation and unrest as our own. With immeasurable strides forward in material civilization, rapid transformation in the methods of production of the goods of life, multiplied invention of ever more wonderful machinery, there is terrible destitution, fearful human waste, a drawing apart of the two ends of society, an ever deepening ominous cry for that human justice whose coming has been delayed so long. Those who have wealth and power are doubtful and troubled in their possessions. Those who are oppressed and exploited are wakening to the demand for life. The suffering colossus of the ages—woman, who has agonized and submitted in silence so long, is stirring to the consciousness of freedom and humanity. Thought is awe-struck and action pauses for the next leap. Shall it be the wasteful explosion of class revolution or the constructive harmony of human growth? Is our dream of progress an illusion? Is the suffering, physical and moral, of the age an evidence of degeneration, or is it the inevitable pain of *transition* to nobler ideals and better conditions of life?

These questions press ever more profoundly on the heart and brain of every awakened man and woman of our time. To throw light upon them is the aim of this course, by a study of the development of humanity through the ages, attempting to see what truly is progress, what great causes have produced it, and on this basis to give a searching criticism of modern civilization.

I. WHAT IS PROGRESS?

Aim of the course.—To study human progress from the point of view of those ethical forces that have been dynamic in the development of mankind, and on this basis to test and estimate modern civilization.

The nineteenth century.—The development of natural science, and particularly biology, as characterizing the intellectual life of the nineteenth century. Great ideas contributed. Significance of the method of science; of the concept of evolution.

The twentieth century.—Application of scientific spirit and method to the study of man. Range of humanistic sciences in process of development. Promise in this field. Limitations under which the new sciences have been born. Science in every field as rationalized common sense, the effort to reduce facts to laws and laws to deeper law. If the nineteenth century was a century of biology, the twentieth promises to be a century of humanism.

The concept of progress.—Biology contributing the idea of progress as evolution. Almost universal acceptance of the idea to-day. Validity of the conception in the field of biology. "Higher" and "lower" as categories of the human spirit. Thus the progress of man interpreted only in terms of the higher human life. Hence significance of the study here undertaken.

Current tests of progress.—The attempt to estimate progress by the accumulation of the material and equipment of civilization. Wide acceptance of this standard to-day; yet wholly inadequate and often misleading. Unused tools always a burden. "Where wealth accumulates *and men decay*," the accumulation of wealth an evidence not of progress, but of degeneration.

Differentiation of activity as a test of progress.—Its faults. Value of work done to be tested finally in terms, not of production, but of character. Where men become "heads" or "hands," in the long run failure to do good head work or hand work.

Social control as a test of progress.—Development of institutional forms with the growth of society. Good and evil in this. John Stuart Mill's warning regarding the possible tyranny of the

multitude. Tendencies in America to-day. Dangers from centralization of authority. Illustration in education. Thus social control no test of progress until interpreted in terms of its effect on manhood and womanhood. The aim not smooth running government, but *life*. Every institution, like the Sabbath, "made for man," and not man for the institution.

Refining of social forms.—Growth of the refinements of social intercourse with the age of a society. Do these represent progress? Again, the answer possible only in terms of their effect on men and women. Convention and custom may chill and suppress life. Need frequently to brush aside forms and return to simple realities.

The point of view of the human spirit.—Fallacy of all external tests of progress. Since higher and lower are categories of the human spirit, true progress must be sought within the life of man. Thus necessary to see what great movements can be traced in the evolution of man and society in order to establish sound tests of progress and standards to estimate civilization.

Progress in freedom.—Primitive man submerged in the tribe. Slow freeing of the individual from the domination of the social unit. Steps in the process historically. Compare the treatment of women and children in the Greek world. Growth of sacredness of the individual life. Development of freedom from class rule and governmental repression.

Subjection of primitive man to external Nature. Tyranny of the seasons, of the forest and its brutes. The significance of all scientific discovery and mechanical invention in giving the mastery of Nature for the purposes of life. Compare the use of fire; invention of the axe, of the bow and arrow; subsequent invention of complex machinery. Condition in this respect of life to-day.

Growth of man in freedom from the dreams of his own imagination. The primitive religion of fear. Sad efforts to propitiate dark powers of the unseen. Moloch and Baal. The gloom of Egyptian and Assyrian statues and temples. Terror in later attitudes toward the unseen. Growth away from all this. Progress in taking the gods back into the temple of the human spirit. Thus reverence and awe, but fearlessness and love in the presence of the Infinite.

Repetition of the threefold historical process in the development of the individual. Significant illustrations. Thus the first test of progress from within the life of the human spirit.

Progress in rationalizing life.—Early action an immediate response to desire. Slow learning to postpone and inhibit desire for

life's sake. The succession of gradually emerging significant ends of conduct.

The same process evident in the moral development of the individual. Effect of a consciously accepted aim of life in unifying and rationalizing action. Thus the second test of progress.

Deepening and refining of the personal spirit.—The previous standards of progress relating to the *form* of life; a deeper test in the changing *content*. The simple elements from which life is made, as work, love, education, religion. These forming the great aspects and problems of personal life. Evident in the beginning and the end of the process; yet progressive change in meaning. What vocation meant in primitive life as compared with to-day. Development of all the wonderful intimacies of personal love out of simple, biological and physiological impulses. Astounding transformation historically in what is included in education and religion.

This process, as well, repeated in the growth of the individual. The deepening and refining of the content of personal life as justly the supreme boast of our time. Thus the third test of progress interpreted in terms of the human spirit.

Progress in social solidarity.—Gradual *expansion* of personality proceeding in harmony with other phases of its development. The deepening of the content of personal life as making possible the wider union of one life with others.

Instinctive motherhood the beginning of altruism. Successive steps of growth in social consciousness: tribal sympathy; racial and class feeling; humanity. Illustrations in changes in moral standards: slavery, infanticide, war; in attitude toward the submerged. What the end of the process would be, were it attained.

Recapitulation of this process in the individual. Non-moral character of early childhood. Moral obligation with development of conscious sympathy. This explaining anomalies: compare apparent cruelty of young children; their humor. How all true intellectual and emotional culture and development tends to bind one with all. The love of a child and the love of a man.

Individualism and social unity.—Balance and mutual limitation among the four great principles and aspects of progress. Thus individual development, in opposition to the good of the whole, defeating its own end and resulting in stultifying isolation apart. Similarly social solidarity attained by destroying the flower of personality and reducing individuals to the dead level of the average, a deplorable mockery of the true union of humanity. True personal development meaning progressive identification of one with

all in love and wisdom. True social solidarity depending upon the evolution of the finest flower of personality. Thus what progress means interpreted in terms of the spirit of man.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Compare human progress with biological evolution.
2. What is meant by a "higher form of life"?
3. In what field did intellectual leadership center in the nineteenth century?
4. What is science?
5. Compare Spencer's treatise on ethics with Aristotle's as a scientific study of human life.
6. What relation does the increase of wealth sustain to progress?
7. When is division of labor good and when does it become evil?
8. To what extent can the development of social control be taken as a test of progress?
9. Show the parallel between the individual and the race in the development of practical freedom.
10. What aim will best unify and rationalize conduct?
11. How far may changing ethical standards be taken as a test of progress?
12. What are the most significant forms of human progress?

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NOTE.—See the Book List, pp. 48-52, for publisher and place and date of publication of all books listed in the references.

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II. THE CAUSES OF HUMAN PROGRESS

Influences changing life.—Haeckel's view that in Nature, "the little causes produce the great results." The same truth holding in all that concerns human life. Compare the effect of one book you read at fourteen, of one conversation with a trusted older friend. So with world life: if Napoleon had died of a childhood disease in Corsica, what would be the map of Europe to-day? If Shakespeare had never left Stratford-on-Avon, what would be our view of Elizabethan literature? These as relatively accidents, yet how far-reaching in effect; thus serving to illustrate the action of the thousand-fold insignificant forces uniting to mold life.

Man and environment.—The multitude of causes falling under certain heads of classification, ultimately reducing to two. At every point two forces interwoven: the actions of men and the reaction of the world upon man. Never possible to separate these entirely, yet everywhere present molding life.

The influence of Nature.—Natural environment a silent, but ever-active force. Its profound influence evident, over a long period of time, in the forming of distinct races. Illustration in the development of different races, under the action of this cause, from the original Aryan stock. Contrast the Greeks and the Norsemen: reasons for this wide differentiation of races springing from one historical source.

Compare northern and southern peoples: in temperament, response to art, sense of duty, vices and virtues. The effect of the stern, forbidding Nature world of New England on Puritan character.

The effect of social environment.—The moment a definite social type is developed and established, this as tending to stamp itself on the successive generations of individuals. This well illustrated in the persistence of the Hebrews under all forms of natural environment. This due, not to heredity, but to the stamping of a social type on generations of individuals through a domestic and religious ritual. Proof of this.

The continuation over many centuries of one type of citizenship, of manhood and womanhood, in ancient Rome. How achieved?

Supreme illustration of the influence of social environment in America. The assimilation of a multitude of immigrants, of all possible racial and social types, into fairly representative American citizens in an amazingly short time. How accomplished? The influence of the public school.

Effect of the methods of economic production and distribution. Truth and limitations in the "economic interpretation of history."

The influence of human choice and action.—Environment acting upon *life*; and the result depending upon the character of the life so acted upon. The sun's rays shining alike upon a living and a dead body: vitalizing the one, disintegrating the other. Compare the effect of the forbidding Nature world of New England upon the Puritan settlers and upon the immigrants from southern Europe, who in certain sections have replaced the old stock. Significance of the development of opposite types of civilization under much the same natural environment: compare the Spartans and the Athenians; the Romans and the Florentines. Thus the effect of Nature on man determined by the action of man in relation to Nature.

The same principle as determining the effect of social environment. Compare the influence of the same religious persecution on different individuals and groups; of a materialistic society on the mass of men, and on such a spirit as Emerson. Contrast the effect of conventional lying on the one who conforms and the one who protests. The influence of repressive tyranny in the school on children who are weak and on those who are strong.

Opposing theories of history.—Both types of force—environment, natural and social, and the actions of men—constantly at work. Difficult to see both causes in relation; easy to arrive at a smooth theory of history by ignoring either. Compare Buckle and Carlyle; yet Buckle's error more common to-day. This as due in part to the fact that the actions of men are far less calculable than the influences of environment. Fallacy of the argument that because human action is law-abiding and measurably calculable, if we knew *all* we could predict with certainty. The modifying element of freedom always on the margin. Illustrations in human behavior under concrete circumstances.

The false view accentuated by the present state of science. Compare the carrying over of generalizations from biology into the human field without seeing the limitations in their applications.

Great men.—Carlyle's further error in seeing the significance only of great men. Fallacy in his view that great men are lightning sent from heaven while the rest of the world is lumber these

set in flame. The action of leaders conspicuous, hence easily recognizable; yet the same effect, in lesser measure and unrecognized, in the choices and actions of all men. Compare the influence of Horace Mann on American education with that of countless forgotten school teachers who did their work with conscientious fidelity. Compare the effect on Hebrew civilization of Moses and Isaiah with that of the multitude of Jewish mothers, each hoping to bring to birth the Messiah. Compare Cato and Cicero with the rank and file of devoted men and women in determining the character of Roman citizenship. The great man rising high because lifted on the shoulders of common men; the one wave breaking into foam only because the great heaving ocean of humanity is beneath.

Mutual relation of the two forces.—Man acting, environment reacting. Thus the two causes not on the same plane: the one relatively *dynamic*, the other *statical*. This evident even in biology, since the unexplained element of variation alone gives what natural selection may act upon, and hence makes evolution possible. Variation occurring only in individuals and perpetuated in other individuals.

Transformation of evolution in human life.—In Nature slow progress through ruthless destruction of the less fit. This process evident in human life; yet tendency to transform it. Significance that the lowest forms of life produce the greatest number of offspring, with the smallest percentage of survival to maturity; while with higher forms a decreasing number of offspring is evident, with vastly increased proportion of survivals. The end would be a condition where no child would come into the world cursed and not blessed with the gift of life, and where all children would be equipped by education not only for survival but for the great ends of humanity.

Similarly transformation of the process through change in the plane of selection. Compare the premium placed successively on brute strength, cunning, intelligence, character.

The element of variation in human life increasingly free and intelligent, consisting of the ideals and actions of men and women on the advancing margin of life. Significance that every great moral and intellectual teaching bears the name of some individual.

Perpetuation of the element of moral variation less by direct heredity than by the contagion of ideals. Compare the true children of Socrates, of St. Francis, of Jesus. Thus immeasurable quickening of the process of human progress as contrasted with biological evolution.

The dynamic energy of human progress.—The ideals of men and women on the advancing margin of life as thus the active cause in human progress. Growth of the world up to these. Life only with growth. Compare Bacon: "Evil is a natural motion; good a forced motion." Application to all aspects of human life.

The same principle in the relation of ideals and conduct in all men. Public opinion as the sum or product of private opinions. The creation of a social atmosphere. Ideals as the soul, conduct the body; each molding and remolding the other. Illustrations in *Hamlet*; *The Statue and the Bust*; in concrete experience. Thus in history ideals and conduct rising and falling together. Ways by which the ideal may be influenced and the dynamic energy utilized in the progress of civilization.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Is natural or social environment more important in molding the life of generations of individuals?
2. Compare northern and southern races in their sense of duty and in relation to the fine arts.
3. The significance and faults in the economic interpretation of history.
4. What has kept the Hebrews apart from the civilizations among which they have dwelt?
5. The value and faults in the theory of history given in Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero Worship*.
6. The value and faults in the theory of history given in Buckle's *History of Civilization in England*.
7. Through what channels have higher moral ideals entered the world?
8. What relation do great men sustain to lesser men?
9. Which is the greater force for human progress, the influence of environment or the actions of men?
10. How far does the law of struggle for existence and survival of the fittest apply to the life of man?
11. Compare the element of variation as it appears in the biological and in the moral world.
12. How are moral variations perpetuated?
13. Assuming that ideals and conduct always interact, which is more primary as a cause?
14. Show the relation of ideals to institutions in the growth of human society.

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III. ELEMENTS OF THE IDEAL OF LIFE

Ends of conduct.—Since ideals are dynamic with reference to conduct, the problem most important as to what elements enter into the ideal one holds up to one's self as worthy of imitation. This, unfortunately, not the main problem in ethical philosophy. Compare distinction of ethical systems according to the end accepted as the aim of life—as happiness, self-culture, service, obedience to the will of God.

The aim as rationalizing conduct; yet paradox in attempting to define the end of a process while we are still within it. Such a statement impossible except as a barren form; compare Kant's imperatives.

Thus the important question, what concrete meaning is given the end accepted. Compare self-realization as interpreted by a low egotist; by Goethe; by Spinoza. How Stoicism and Epicureanism, opposite in practical attitude, meet in premise and conclusion.

How ideals are held.—Ideals rarely wholly conscious; often held implicitly and defined only under the stress of crises of life. Illustrations in the common habit of life. Reason why it is most important that the ideal be brought clearly to consciousness and rationalized.

The basis of the ideal of life.—The mass of inherited instincts in the individual; these as representing the past of the race incarnate in each representative. Evidence of this on the basis of any one of the various theories of evolution and heredity. ✓

The Spencer-Weismann controversy at least making it clear that the instincts of longest biological history survive most strongly, while those of recent development have far less chance of perpetuation. Thus just the most primitive instincts acting most powerfully in the individual.

These instincts selected and developed because making for survival in the struggle for existence, thus substantially in line with life; yet as selected in relation to earlier phases of existence never entirely in harmony with life to-day. The adjustment never perfect of pleasure to action which serves the good of the whole. Com-

pare hunger for food: a life-sustaining instinct; yet results where allowed unrestrained expression.

Action of instincts in crises.—The old instincts, partly good and partly bad, always the basis of the ideal of life. In ordinary circumstances rational control, or at least restraint through convention, not difficult; but in a sudden crisis tendency of the primitive instincts to rise up into consciousness and dominate human action.

Self-preservation as the most fundamental of instincts, representing the basic grip on life. Effect of this instinct in some sudden disaster, as a fire panic in a theater or a wreck at sea. How such a situation tests at once moral habit and rational self-control. Tendency of the old instinct to assert itself in blindly and brutally selfish action. The one who conquers this and quietly acts in harmony with the good of all as the rare hero who has obeyed the teaching to

“Move upward, working out the beast,
And let the ape and tiger die.”

Sex-instinct as next to self-preservation in its driving force upon life. Beauty of its ordered expression; yet an amazingly large part of all human misery resulting from blindly and irrationally affirming it.

Similar results from other instincts, such as that of race, the admiration for power and success, the instinctive love of war, the reaction upon the moral variant, the correlative instincts of jealousy and revenge in men and blind self-submission in women.

The influence of convention.—Next to the basic instincts, social environment the most powerful of the irrational elements in the ideal of life. This also substantially in line with life; but as convention is the crystallized result of the best thinking of some past time, it is always somewhere behind the best thinking of the day that is on. This element wholly irrational, and sometimes perverse, yet most powerful in the ideal of life. How accidents of social convention may come to influence us as deeply as moral principles. Compare the relative shame in wearing an unconventional garment and in telling a lie. The persons who will tell the lie to explain why they wore the garment.

Illustrations of the influence of convention in confusing ritual and morality; in standards of honor and respectability, of sex-morality; in living to materialistic aims because our neighbors do.

The measure of mere convention in the ideal tested by moving to a different social environment. Those who at Rome "do as the Romans do" in the bad sense, as without independent ideals of conduct. Compare American students in European art schools.

Where instincts strongest in crises, the influence of convention most powerful in the dull routine of daily living. Easy to defy convention in a crisis, but the pitiless pin-pricks of public opinion sadly effective afterward. Thus tendency to accept the world's opinion of ourselves after unconventional action whether good or bad.

Rationalizing the ideal of life.—The two types of elements, partly good and partly bad but both irrational, acting, the one in crises, the other in the routine of daily living. Thus imperative need to rationalize the ideal; otherwise action due to the chance domination of consciousness now by one, now by another element. Value of reflection upon the elements of the ideal, thus bringing it clearly to consciousness. Not difficult to distinguish instinctive impulses that are good and bad, affirming one and denying the other. Thus easy to see the difference between wearing an unconventional coat and telling a lie, to correct current standards, excluding elements that are false and wrong. Effect of this process in unifying and rationalizing the ideal.

Contact with the ideals of others.—A little reflection leading to a recognition of the amazing diversity of ideals among human beings, resulting from differences in personality, education and experience. Thus each ideal rooted in reality and having some sound content. Recognizing this as teaching toleration; but toleration merely the negative aspect. What is needed as the positive virtue of which toleration is the negative equivalent—to welcome all honest differences of thought and life, in the assured conviction that the one who differs most widely from me can teach me most, if he is earnest and I can understand him. Compare each path up the mountain having its own horizon, but the vision from the summit including the whole. Thus broadening, deepening and rationalizing the ideal of life by inclusion of the ideals of others.

The study of historic ideals.—The present but a moment in the life of man. The effect of contact with the ideals of others immeasurably multiplied by reaching out to include the life of the past. Compare in relation the great contrasting individuals, such as St. Francis and Goethe, Carlyle and Emerson, Gladstone and Tolstoy. So in relation to the ideals of historic epochs, as the middle ages and the Renaissance, Greek and Christian civilizations. The great value of history, not in giving rules for political economy

or personal conduct, but in thus immeasurably expanding, deepening and rationalizing the ideal of life.

Need of all the light in our heritage from the past. What is necessary in order that we may stand on the vantage ground of the centuries and make this heritage our own.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. The different interpretations in practice that may be made of such an aim of life as self-realization.
2. Show what different irrational elements enter into the ideal of life.
3. What effect on the ideal of life have old inherited instincts such as self-preservation and the love of battle?
4. How far is instinctive action moral?
5. The ethical significance of the instincts of jealousy and revenge.
6. Why do instincts act most powerfully in crises of life?
7. The conventional atmosphere as an element of social control.
8. To what extent are personal ideals commonly an echo of social environment?
9. What distinguishes conventional from moral conduct?
10. On what aspects of conduct is the influence of conventional environment most powerful?
11. Methods of rationalizing the ideal of life.
12. The effect on the ideal of life of appreciative contact with widely divergent personalities.
13. The value of the study of history in rationalizing the ideal of life.
14. What should be the attitude and aim in the study of history?

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IV. HISTORIC SOURCES OF MODERN CIVILIZATION

Right and wrong attitudes in the study of history.—The true value of history in liberalizing the spirit through learning appreciation of other aspects of humanity. Such a result impossible when we approach the task in a wrong spirit, as in studying the past merely to exult in the superiority of the present. Prevalence of this attitude to-day; its unfortunate consequences. If all earnest living is a bond with reality, then each phase of the past has its own meaning, and it is this that in each instance we need to discover.

A graver fault in reading our own philosophy into and out of an historic source. Ease with which this may be done, since life is a unity and each phase implicitly or explicitly contains the whole. Especial temptation to this error when a phase is taken as supreme authority, because we then need to make it teach what we already believe. How this has been done with philosophical authorities; with religious authorities; even with great poetry.

Result in obscuring the significance of the text or phase studied. Graver consequence in debauching the intellect of the student. Possible ultimately, through such false interpretation, to destroy the power to see clearly and objectively, to distinguish wheat from chaff. This as dogmatism wherever it appears; examples in various fields.

Thus the need in studying any phase of the past to ask (1) What of the whole content of the human spirit here finds explicit expression? (2) How far does it go in height and range? (3) What are its limitations? Aim in this study to apply this attitude and these questions to two supreme sources of modern civilization.

Increasing complexity of civilization.—Civilization as a great stream continually widening and receiving waters from new tributaries. Thus its sources and character ever more complex as time goes on. Folly in attempting to explain the whole stream from a single source.

Scope of this study.—The purpose here to study two represen-

tative sources of modern civilization—Greek and Christian. These chosen as of intrinsic interest and import; as mutually complementary; as together contributing the main elements of modern civilization; as of supreme importance in the ideal of life.

The Greek, the ideal of a race; the Christian, of an individual teacher. The one basal, the other transfiguring. The one masculine, the other feminine. The one centering upon self-affirmation, the other upon self-sacrifice. Thus in each that is implicit which is explicit in the other.

The Christian ideal.—This as the ideal most difficult to define, because everywhere diffused and accepted, at least nominally, in all our civilization. Compare Christianity taken loosely as equivalent to the entire civilization of Christendom; yet the *historic source* entirely definite, and it is this that we need to see clearly. Text for this purpose: the recorded sayings of Jesus and his immediate followers.

Christ coming to “fulfill” the older Jewish teaching; but the fulfillment on another plane. The Hebrew teaching a morality of conduct, the Christian of the spirit. Compare the prescriptions of the older written law and the mass of oral commentary, aiming to define and limit action. The prevailing “Thou shalt not.” Contrast the emphasis on love in Christ’s teaching; the two commandments gathering up all the law and the prophets. Thus a measure of direct protest against the older morality evident in all the teaching of Jesus. Each of the Beatitudes as implying a conscious protest against some phase of the current view of life.

Thus in some measure a gospel of escape in primitive Christianity: compare in relation to learning, wealth, worldly prudence, the political institutions of the time. Constantly the teaching of the higher spiritual life above and apart; nowhere the emphasis of the balanced, rounded life in the world. The virtues emphasized, the higher feminine virtues—mercy, purity, holiness, humility, peace-making, love.

From time to time a revival of pure Christianity. Compare in St. Francis of Assisi, Thomas à Kempis, Savonarola, Tolstoy. Always the same emphasis.

Balancing elements present in the personality of Jesus. Evidence of these in the story of the Cana wedding, the scourging of the money-changers, the blessing of little children.

The spread of Christianity.—Character of the world over which Christianity extended its sway. Greco-Roman civilization in the period of decline. Sense of ruin in the air; to-morrow promising in-

evitably to be worse than to-day. The dominant philosophies—Stoicism and Epicureanism—alike philosophies of despair.

Adaptation of Christianity to the world over which it spread: accepting this world as failure, but preaching the gospel of eternal life; holding earthly endeavor as vanity, but teaching a kingdom of the spirit, a peace that passeth understanding; in profound opposition to the dominant ideals of ancient civilization, but bringing a new kind of excellence. Thus not taking hold at the top, but gradually conquering the ancient world from the bottom upward; winning its earliest converts among those on whom the declining structure of ancient civilization rested with intolerable weight.

Christianity itself changed in the process of conquest. Its explicit tendencies defined and accentuated; its balancing elements subordinated and obliterated. Thus asceticism and monasticism developed. The opposition between the world and the spirit made increasingly acute. Celibacy exalted above marriage. The body regarded as the enemy of the soul. Thus the resulting ideal one of self-abnegation as opposed to self-realization, of the spirit apart as contrasted with a harmony of sense and soul, uplifting an aspect of life rather than broadening the whole. Complete expression of this ideal in the middle ages.

The Greek ideal.—In supreme contrast to the Christian ideal, especially as developed and defined by its conquest of the ancient world, is that of the Greeks. This as the ideal not of an individual but of a race, finding expression in all aspects of its civilization.

Except where elements from Asia creeping in, the Greeks never rising to the distinctly spiritual view of life. Their love of youth and the life of the senses, dreading old age as only less terrible than the death it prophesied. So their attitude toward the unseen world: compare the statement of Achilles to Ulysses.

Thus the Greek aim: a harmony of sense and soul, the balanced development of all physical and mental capacities in a rounded, matured, cultivated personality—the “sane mind in a sound body.” No seeking of transcendent ideals; no clear moral sense of sin. The same word serving for the beautiful and the good.

Expression of the Greek ideal in Plato; in Aristotle. Embodiment of it in sculpture: compare the *Parthenon marbles*; the *Hermes* of Praxiteles; the *Venus de Milo*; the *Lateran Sophocles*. Why sculpture was the definitive art of the Greek world, lending its laws to all others.

Emphasis of the basic masculine virtues in the Greek ideal: compare temperance, courage, wisdom and justice in Plato; mag-

nanimity as the chief virtue in Aristotle. The view of Aristotle that the best life of virtue is impossible without wealth and friends; significance in the contrast with the Christian view.

Thus the excellence of the Greek ideal its health, breadth, harmony, humanity. Its limitations, a lack of spiritual height, of utter, unselfish devotion to a supreme call, of the capacity for complete self-abnegation.

Complementary character of the two ideals in strength and weakness. How they represent the two types of greatness ever struggling for the possession of the human spirit. Difficult to unite them, but most necessary to do so.

Greek and Christian ideals in subsequent civilization.—Effect of the victory of Christianity over the declining ancient world in banishing forever the non-moral satisfied completeness of the Greek spirit; as if suddenly an abyss had opened before the awe-struck spirit of man. It seemed necessary that the conflict of the human spirit with itself should deepen the content of life, giving modern civilization its wealth of meaning.

Thus throughout the middle ages the Christian ideal dominant; yet the Greek ideal under the surface and never lost. With the Renaissance the Greek ideal, in changed form, coming to the surface as the leading force of the age. In all subsequent civilization a mingling of the two ideals; at times in conflict, at times in union. Illustrations of the effect of each. What we owe to each in the civilization of our time.

Both ideals thus needed, the one as the basis, the other its transfiguration; the one giving breadth, the other height. The union not an eclectic patchwork, but a living fusing of the two sources in an ever-growing organic life.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. What effect on the mind of the student follows from reading his own philosophy into and out of an historical authority?
2. What method should be pursued in attempting to define the ideal of historic Christianity?
3. Show in detail the relation of historic Christianity to its Hebraic sources.
4. What protests against the prevailing Hebraic ideals are implied in the Beatitudes?
5. The relation of the two commandments of Jesus to the ten commandments of the Hebrews.

6. How far did primitive Christianity preach a gospel of escape?
7. What relation did the Christian ideal sustain to declining Greco-Roman civilization?
8. The virtues emphasized in Aristotle's *Ethics*; in St. Paul's *Epistles*.
9. Why was sculpture the representative art of the Greek world?
10. What were the dominant characteristics of the Greek ideal?
11. The relation of the middle ages to Greek and Christian sources.
12. Greek and Christian elements in the Italian Renaissance.
13. To what extent are Greek and Christian ideals mutually complementary?
14. The relative importance of the masculine and the feminine virtues in modern life.
15. Elements of modern civilization derived from Greek sources.
16. Elements of modern civilization derived from Christian sources.

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V. WOMANHOOD AND HUMAN PROGRESS

Aim of this study.—To turn now to the relation of women to the process we have been studying. Since ideals are the energy of human progress and any change in them affects the whole process of life, profound significance in the great changes in ideals of womanhood. Probably no other range of problems so difficult as those in the lives of modern women. Nowhere else so much confusion and misunderstanding and such great need of light.

The human being.—Sex differentiation going back almost to the beginning of life, and evident throughout the evolution of organic life. A great line of cleavage in sex type, yet the unity greater than the difference. The *human being* as more than the man or the woman. Compare the same life story and the same great problems in both men and women.

Sex types.—The differences in sex type as, nevertheless, fundamental and depending ultimately on the greater demand of the reproductive functions on the one sex as compared with the other. On this basis, biological and historical selection developing widely different types, easier to recognize than to state. Much of the wonder and joy of life as depending upon these differences. With women the greater strain of the reproductive functions; men showing more biological freedom and aggressiveness. In women a finer, more enduring nervous organization; men possessing usually greater muscular strength. Women having the finer moral sensibility and direct insight into the deeps of personal life; men capable of a coarser adjustment to the world, and needing to get things into terms of the understanding. Thus each type having its own strength and correlative weakness. Folly of exalting one sex at the expense of the other. The two types complementary, each emphasizing what is relatively implicit in the other. All life depending upon the mutual adjustment of these types. Thus all social problems centering upon the relation of the sexes and the resulting problems of marriage and the family.

Sex functions in society.—Primitive marriage probably monogamous. Differentiation of sex functions merely one example of di-

vision of labor, its aim being economy and adaptation. Men originally protective and military; women reproductive and industrial. Probable equality of these functions in primitive times. Compare the Veddahs of Ceylon.

Very early the premium placed on the functions fulfilled by men. Under tribal conditions, the existence of the group depending mainly upon strong warriors and wise chieftains. Granted these, if women and children are in insufficient numbers they can easily be ravished from other tribes. Thus early domination of the military over the industrial functions of society. This meaning the enslavement of women. The slow and painful story of their gradual emancipation as, in a word, the record of the freeing of the industrial activities of society from the dominance of the military functions. Illustrations from the development of Greek civilization; from modern times. Compare wherever militarism dominant women oppressed to-day and forced into ranges of despised industrial activity.

The industrial revolution.—Two great causes of the rapid change from the old situation. The first of these the transformation of industrial activity. Compare military functions decreasing in importance: carried out by a fraction of men or by men generally in a fraction of their lives. With this change, an immense increase in industrial activities; carried out in factory centers by men. In turn, many women following into the factories what formerly was their work. Thus men and women brought increasingly toward equality in economic relationship.

Change in the meaning of marriage.—The deeper cause working toward the same end over a longer period of time as change in the basis of sex relationship. The primitive family an economic and reproductive institution. With human progress a spiritual basis of marriage superimposed on the old biological foundation. The union coming increasingly to be an equal one in affection and in all that concerns the higher human life. Thus equality of relationship tending to replace the older domination of one sex by the other as owner and property.

The new plane of selection.—Both causes working toward the same end. Under the old conditions the woman surviving and perpetuating herself in offspring as the one subordinating herself and willing to be dominated. In consequence of the industrial revolution and the transformed significance of marriage, increasingly the premium placed on the woman who is self-directed, independent, able to meet the man on a plane of moral equality. The "clinging vine" unfortunate these days unless it readily finds its supporting

oak; apt to trail over the ground and be trodden on by the passer-by.

The pain of transition.—Our time one of transition, hence inevitably of confusion and misunderstanding. The new principles struggling with the old: equal union against the property notion; cooperation with economic mastery; mutual respect and decisions in common with obedience and domination.

The time especially difficult for women, since the opposition they meet in society to their newer life they find also within themselves in old instincts born of ages of subordination to mastery and ownership; yet over against these instincts a hunger for independent self-affirmation and equal union, not to be denied. Retreat impossible. The only cure for half-knowledge as whole knowledge, for partial freedom, complete freedom. Thus the only hope in the pain of transition is, not in attempting to go back, but in pressing on across the period of transition, to come out on the other side.

The problem of the modern woman: in education; vocation; personal relationship; religion. Illustrations in typical personalities.

The new ideal.—The differences in type between men and women as permanent and not to be overcome by any false system of education or any foolish imitation of one sex by the other. Compare nothing else so repulsive as a masculine woman, unless perhaps an effeminate man. Nevertheless, the human type inclusive: increasingly evident that men, without losing strength and the power to battle courageously with the world, may be tender, loving and self-sacrificing; women, with no less gentleness, grace and loving tenderness, may be increasingly independent, self-directive and able to affirm rationally the best for all. Thus, without losing the clear differentiation, each type tending to include implicitly what is best in the other.

Identity in the interest of men and women.—The great need as mutual understanding. Any advocacy of the woman's cause as a struggle against men wholly mistaken and wrong. The true good of one sex as always good for the other. The need not likeness or identity but *equality*. Thus whatever tends to place the relations of men and women on a plane of moral equality unqualifiedly good no matter what it costs. This as the key to the present woman's movement in every aspect. What we may hope from the larger contribution of woman when this equality of relationship is fully achieved. "Woman's destiny the world of sorrow"; but, as the same master said, "the eternal womanly leading us upward and on."

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. The characteristic differences in type between manhood and womanhood.
2. Sources of the fundamental differences in sex type.
3. The Vedda of Ceylon.
4. The position of woman in early and mature Greek civilization.
5. The influence of Christianity on the position of women.
6. The effect of militarism on the status of woman.
7. The effect of the industrial revolution on the position of women.
8. What causes have tended to bring the relationship of men and women to a plane of moral equality?
9. The modern changes in ideals of womanhood.
10. What is the most important single aspect in the woman's movement of to-day?
11. The vocational problem in the lives of modern women.
12. The relation of the suffrage movement to the general progress of women.
13. Sonya Kovalevsky as representing the modern woman's problem.
14. Women in education.
15. Can women become entirely independent and self-directing without losing the finer feminine qualities and virtues?
16. In what respects are ideals of manhood and womanhood identical; in what respects are they complementary?

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VI. THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL REFORM

Difficulty in estimating the present age.—History as sifted by time. The blessed faculty of forgetting that man possesses. Only what deeply enters into life really lasting. Thus the great mountain chains of tendency clearly evident in the life of the past. Contrast the present, with the stream of events surging by us. Need to substitute for the wanting perspective of time and space a perspective of the spirit, in attempting to understand the age that is on. Various methods of accomplishing this; one of the best, as seeking to estimate modern civilization in the light of the great laws and tendencies evident everywhere in the past.

The problem of social reconstruction.—Especial need of this method in striving to understand and judge current struggles toward social amelioration. Social reform the supreme problem of this age; yet involved in great confusion.

The prejudice of vested interests.—Possession as making for sobriety and conservatism. So leading to preservation of the good in the existing order and opposition to foolish change. On the other hand, possession usually clouding the vision and making for opposition to all reform. Those profiting by the existing order apt to wish to maintain it unchanged with all its evils. This as one of the saddest consequences of wealth and prosperity. Thus the inertia of vested interests the greatest obstacle to all reform.

The prejudice of reaction.—The reformer, incensed by the evils in the existing order, often reacting blindly against it and seeking to sweep it away with the good as well as the evil in it. Such efforts as ignoring the laws of life and the long heredity behind present conditions. The false hope of making the world over in a day; foolishly trusting to some social nostrum to cure all the diseases of the world. This attitude as far from the truth as the prejudice of vested interests, and equally hampering sound efforts for social amelioration.

Forces of social betterment.—The value for social amelioration of invention and discovery, leading to change in the system of production. The value of changes in laws and institutions. The sig-

nificance of both forces as depending upon changes in the ideal of life. Illustrations from history: in the awakening of modern Europe; in the decline of the ancient world. The same principle as evident in the changes of our own society.

Social progress necessarily slow.—The reformation of society depending ultimately on the regeneration of the individuals composing society.

The law of struggle permanently applying in the material world. All wealth due to man's effort in relation to natural resources. As the resources are limited so must the wealth be; and for one to have more, means that another has less. No scheme of arbitrary redistribution or collective ownership annulling this principle. All standards as, moreover, relative. Each group measuring its condition in comparison with others. Thus in utilizing the resources of Nature: industry, thrift, health, talent, intelligence always will count, even when social and industrial spoliation and injustice are entirely removed.

A further reason for the slowness of social progress in the co-existence of moral types. As biologically the typical phases in the evolution of life coexist to-day, so morally all types from savagery to the highest civilization existing side by side to-day. Illustration of this in any great city. Hence the same stimuli not applicable to all. Mistakes of philanthropy and reform from ignoring this principle. The wonder, therefore, not that social progress is necessarily slow, but that changes in education and the ideal can be effected so rapidly.

Reforms of history.—The foregoing argument as explaining why even great reforms have been disappointing when judged by the hopes of those who brought them into being. Compare the French Revolution; the Reformation; the American Revolution. Every reformer lifting the chain of life by a single link; the whole seeming dependent on the link he holds. His failure to see that the same is true of every link.

If great reforms have seemed to be failure when judged by the expectations of those inaugurating them, how much more the lesser movements. Compare pantisocracies, altrurias, communisms. Illustration in the *Brook Farm* and *New Harmony* movements. What they accomplished; wherein they failed.

Current reforms.—Strange how, in spite of the past, the search continues for a social nostrum—a philosopher's stone to change the baser metals of society into gold. Futility of the false hope.

The just attitude toward current reforms in the light of the ex-

perience of the past. Application to socialism, single tax, woman suffrage, prohibition, changes in political forms and methods, tariff and currency reform. What any sound reform may justly hope to achieve.

Social Utopias.—The two errors in all unwarranted hopes for social regeneration: in expecting sudden transformation; in imagining a state of statical perfection to be either possible or desirable. The second error as characteristic of the literary Utopias from Plato's *Republic* to Bellamy's *Looking Backward*. Pessimism usually resulting from this mistake.

Life always *dynamic*, not statical; therefore always incomplete and imperfect. How man's weakness is the corollary of his greatness. Progress necessarily slow and depending ultimately upon changes in the ideal of life.

The ethical attitude toward social reconstruction.—The duty to welcome any reform that promises to be helpful, however slight its hope. The sum of little gains as social progress. Especial need to accept and further a reform in which we believe while it is unpopular. Truth needing us most when she is "on the scaffold."

The duty to recognize calmly the limitations in the best and most promising of movements. This obligation as important as the foregoing. Unwise advocacy the greatest obstacle to every reform. "The world could not spare its fanatics"; but it could well spare their fanaticism. Their strength as in their affirmative faith, not in their limitations. Need at times to take sides and strike hard; but sanity and wisdom always helpful, while intolerance and fanaticism are always wasteful. Revolution is spectacular but destructive; evolution is quiet and unimpressive, but wholly helpful.

The duty to strive constantly for the eternal reform—*education*. Possible so to mold and remold the ideal, thus exerting the lever of all progress. Changes possible to our society through lifting the popular ideal by education.

The crowning duty to live the best social ideal in personal life. This as the highest service to the problem of social reconstruction. The supreme philanthropy as living a good life.

Class separation as making this crowning service difficult. Hard for an individual of one group to appreciate conditions of life for those in other groups. Illustrations in employer and workman, mistress and servant, aristocrat and man of the people. Thus wrong in class judgments. Need of constant effort against this.

Hence the value of social and industrial unrest. Always a mistake when social conditions are judged from the point of view of

our own ease and comfort. Unrest a sign of life. Snobbery and servility always found together. Nothing else running so smoothly as slavery. Hence to live the ideal we reverence, as the greatest contribution toward social reconstruction.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. The value of the study of history for social reform.
2. What effect does the possession of wealth usually have upon one's attitude toward social reform?
3. The relation of the old personal ethics to the present social problems.
4. The measure of reform possible through legislation.
5. The effect upon social conditions of progress in discovery and invention.
6. The immediate and the ultimate effect of the invention and use of machinery.
7. How far is the law of struggle permanent in the material world?
8. The coexistence of moral types in modern society and its bearing upon social reform.
9. Why must social reconstruction proceed slowly?
10. The value for human progress of sudden social revolutions.
11. Why have the great reforms of history proved disappointing when judged by the expectations of those who brought them into being?
12. The permanent contribution of such social experiments as *Brook Farm* and *New Harmony*.
13. Plato's theory of social reconstruction.
14. What are the main forces working at present toward social amelioration?
15. In the light of history what should be expected from the great reform movements of the present time?
16. The relation of education to social reform.
17. The relation of personal conduct and ideals to social reconstruction.

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VII. THE SOCIAL IDEAL IN MODERN CIVILIZATION

The perspective of the ideal.—The testing of modern civilization by the laws and tendencies of history as always needing correction. History *never* repeating itself, and thus the new never entirely understood and estimated by the old. The proper correction by judging modern civilization from the point of view of the ideals creative in it, since these ideals will mold the institutional forms of a not distant future time. Thus by understanding the dynamic ideals of the present, possible in some measure to forecast the next great movement of civilization.

In making such an attempt necessary to avoid being misled by eddies in the current. Significance of the recrudescence of barbarism, evident from time to time.

Need further to avoid overestimating the dead weight of materialistic ideals held by the multitude. The leaven of society as always the ideals of men and women who are awake and on the advancing margin of life. Power of this leaven to lift the seemingly inert mass of the world's life. Thus necessary to seek the ideals truly creative, promising a better world in a not distant to-morrow.

The new social ideal.—The greatest of these dynamic ideals at present as that of brotherhood realized in practice—the ideal of aiding all the men and women in the land, not as dependents, but through the free, cooperative activity of each with all the rest, on toward life, happiness, all the ends that challenge man.

This ideal as old as human aspiration, yet only subsequent to the French and American revolutions accepted frankly as the aim of political and social institutions. Thus justly called the *new* social ideal; wide increase in acceptance of it in recent decades.

Expression of this ideal in the religious life of the time; in education; political institutions. Especial significance in its expression in the field of the fine arts. Illustrations.

The new social ideal as the leaven of civilization everywhere today. Compare in England; continental Europe; Russia; even in the East.

Old battle cries obscuring new issues.—In America the new

social ideal taken most frankly as the aim of civilization. We in America as like children, who if young enough will attempt any task, however difficult. The enthusiasm needing to be balanced by wisdom, especially as a standard that once has led to victory apt for that very reason to be inadequate or misleading in relation to the issue that is on. How the battle-cry of one age may be a mere shibboleth in another. Compare the inadequacy of the old merely personal ethics to the present problem of society.

The danger of resting on the past great in proportion as the past itself was great. This as one reason why strong leaders so often come out of the wilderness, since they do not know too much of the past and are not overburdened by its precedents. New truth as the old born in new form, but the rebirth as making it effective.

The new storm center.—The central problem in the most advanced nations of the earth as yesterday in the field of *political* democracy. This no longer true. How the storm center has shifted to the field of *industrial* and *social* democracy.

The industrial problem.—The increasing difficulty in the problems of industrial adjustment as due to the ever-growing discrepancy between man and his equipment. Compare the effect of the industrial revolution. Increasing complexity of the intellectual problems of civilization. Illustrations: the tariff; currency legislation. Effect of all invention and use of machinery. Marvelous recent development of the most complex machinery for cheapening the production and distribution of the goods of life. Danger that this may be exploited in the interest of the few instead of serving the good of the whole, thus making of the achievement of man's intelligence a Frankenstein monster that may turn and rend its creator.

The coming up into the free struggle of life of multitudes who yesterday lived only that some one else might live. Their attitude and action to-day. Thus amazing ramification of the factors and complication of the problem of civilization. Compare the wages of a New Jersey factory girl connected with the events occurring in Manchuria to-day; the failure of a Pennsylvania farmer connected with the opening of wheat-raising tracts in southern Siberia or Argentine Republic. Can the brain of man meet and solve the intellectual problem of civilization?

The social problem.—Every question of industrial relation and adjustment resting on something still deeper than itself—the *problem of social relationship*. This as the true storm-center in the movement of modern life. Changed relations with the breaking of old class and caste lines. In the old society, labor chiefly for in-

dividuals; subsequent to the industrial revolution work increasingly for the public.

A puzzling paradox: the new social ideal making for social solidarity; many of the surface tendencies of current civilization making just the other way. Compare a mediæval with a modern city. Relative familiarity and closeness of human relationship in the older city, contrasting with the modern tendency to segregate rich and poor in opposite ends of the community and to distribute the better middle class in suburban communities for many miles round about. Is it any wonder one half does not know how the other half lives, and that city politics are corrupt?

Further illustrations of the tendency toward social segregation in the relations of personal service, the activities of charity organizations, the church and the school. The great protest against these tendencies—the social settlement; yet the social settlement compared to the problem as an eddy in the gulf-stream. True that in the moral world an eddy may change the course of a gulf-stream. Meantime, the ideal social settlement rigidly limited, and its value as a protest rather than a solution.

What is to be done?—The need not primarily for more institutions; danger, in fact, of being institutionalized to death. The great need to *live* the new social ideal in all aspects of relationship: toward those we serve and those who serve us, toward those who live in the street above and in the alley behind. This not meaning a vulgar annulment of distinctions of personality and friendship, but a reverencing of the humanity of all others, opposing all manner of class distinctions, honoring the individual for his character and service, not his rank or artificial situation.

Aristocratic prejudice as the result and in turn the cause of artificial social conditions. Tendency in every society, in proportion to its age, to settle down into fixed forms protecting inefficiency at the top and hampering genius at the bottom. Thus eternal need of protest and effort against this tendency.

Individualism and social unity.—Every great period of art and intellect springing from some profound stirring of the heart of common humanity. Our need of each other and of *all the others*; he who cuts himself off from any part of common humanity doing so to his own moral detriment; yet the true leader we say must follow his own star, unmoved by the mob. Solution of the seeming opposition in the fact that the same persons make up what we call the mob and what we name humanity. The difference not in the individuals, but in the line of appeal.

Thus the type of solidarity that will fulfill the new social ideal: not a false levelling down to the average, nor an arrogant individualism; but the development of each to the full of his capacities, in harmonious and loving union with all.

The movement of the hour. Those who understand and accept may lead; those who oppose must go down to defeat. Hence our duty and opportunity.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. In what respects does the social ideal in modern civilization differ from that of past times?
2. Religious movements of the present time.
3. The expression of social idealism in the fine arts.
4. Social idealism in England; on the continent of Europe.
5. Why must the industrial problem in modern civilization become increasingly difficult?
6. What is the relation of the industrial problem to that of social relationship in modern society?
7. Social segregation in a modern city.
8. The effect of the industrial revolution on class relationship.
9. Why is it less difficult to maintain a close human intercourse among individuals of different social groups where class lines are rigidly drawn?
10. The church as a means of spreading and practising the new social ideal.
11. Social segregation in education and its effects.
12. The value of social settlements.
13. The relation of personal aims to social welfare.
14. How may the tendency in every society to settle down with age into fixed forms be overcome?

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VIII. EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

Transformation of modern democracy.—The concluding study as dealing with the relation of education to the problem of society and its progress, particularly as represented in American democracy.

With the modern spread of democracy, fundamental changes in its meaning. The old democracy resting on certain abstract conceptions. Compare the notion of a "social contract;" the phrases of our *Declaration of Independence*. Unconscious growth away from these abstract ideas. Democracy no longer tested by them, but by its results in manhood and womanhood.

Immeasurable expansion of the range over which the ideal of democracy is applied. Compare Athens, where a little clique of free citizens rested on the backs of a multitude of slaves, while women were property. Contrast Rome as a republic with our own in institutions. Similar limitations in the democracies arising at the close of the middle ages. Everywhere preceding the French and American revolutions, the aim of democracy the freedom of a class, a group, a city, never of all humanity. Contrast our hope.

The discovery or invention of representative government.—This as immeasurably expanding the area over which republican institutions may be applied. Compare our Republic with Plato's notion of the ideal state as limited to 5,040 citizens.

Representative government as further the safeguard of democracy, compelling the sifting of common thought and taking the sting from all the older criticisms of democracy. Plato's view that democracy must inevitably pass over into tyranny as true of the older type, but not necessarily of representative government. The slow-moving character of our institutions the other side of their greatest protection. Need to remember this to-day in the face of the loudly acclaimed movements for more direct expression of the popular will and desire. Immediate expression of the popular will, under the influence of a demagogue, as the source of ruin in all ancient democracies.

Changes in these three aspects as transforming the meaning of democracy and giving us an entirely new problem.

The meaning of government.—The state existing because of the imperfections of human nature. No government needed in the kingdom of heaven. Government an expedient to make ordered growth possible. Democracy as not the shortest road to good government; but wasteful, vulgar, giving easy opportunity for corruption. That we recognize this, evident in changes in our lesser institutions: compare in city government; in university organization. Our demand for efficiency causing us to follow Plato's counsel—to get a good tyrant and give him a free hand. Danger in this, since it is impossible to keep the tyrant good. Government, moreover, never rightly tested by economic efficiency. The justification of democracy, not immediate results in good government, but the *education of the citizen*. This education possible only through practising the functions of citizenship. Application of this to women as well as men. Thus if we continue to believe in democracy it is because we hold that only under its institutions can there be developed the most intelligent, earnest, devoted men and women.

On the other hand, the permanence and growth of democracy dependent upon the ever better education of the citizen. Thus, looked at either way, the problem of democracy as a problem of education.

New menaces of democracy.—As modern democracy is new and transformed in meaning, so its dangers are new, or old menaces in new form. The gravest of these as the negative selfishness of indifference, evident in those who imagine themselves to be the salt of the earth. Compare the absorption in private interests and carelessness of the public good. Ease with which men unhinge their consciences when they turn from private to public life. The great weight on the back of the body politic as the cowardly virtue of the negatively respectable, who never stand with truth upon the scaffold but are afar back in the noisy procession following her already victorious banner.

With this the danger of ignorance as to what our institutions have cost and what they mean. Startling evidence of this in the younger generation.

The menace of the blind worship of wealth and power, with jealousy of men of true moral leadership. Democracies notoriously fickle: the criticism not just to the older American life, but increasingly applicable to-day. Causes of this growing fickleness of temper.

This fault in the people as breeding demagoguery in the leader. What we have said to our public men; that so many have refused the bribe as to their credit, not ours.

The loss of reverence for wisdom and experience. Our exaggerated faith in youth. No specific for meeting the grave dangers in the path of modern democracy. Eternal vigilance and effort as the price, not only of liberty, but of every good of man; yet certain great avenues through which effort may find expression.

Moral education.—The need for reconstructing our education so that it will focus on the building of positive and effective moral character. Moral education not an aspect of education, but the integrating center of the whole. All other phases of training and equipment making for good or evil according as they are or are not associated with good character.

Extension of education.—In the light of the relation of education to democracy, folly in limiting it to childhood and the activities within the school. Need to extend education beyond academic walls to the whole of life. Thus the significance in all the great current movements for adult education. What these may hope to accomplish.

Education in reverence for moral leadership.—Need to bring the student into contact with noble leadership in the past, that he may recognize and reverently follow the true moral leadership in his own world. To this end need to rewrite our histories that they may present the history of the human spirit, and not merely the record of wars and institutional changes. Opportunities in literature and other fields for the same kind of education.

Training moral leadership.—Crowning need to develop and educate moral leaders for modern democracy. Where this may be accomplished. The problem in the high school; need that it should serve this end rather than merely to equip its students for their academic work. From this point of view, unfortunate that the high school is so largely dominated from above, its curriculum and methods determined by the requirements of the college freshman.

The problem in the college and university. Expansion of higher education. Growth in activity and equipment faster than in integration under a unifying aim. With reference to the training of moral leadership, unfortunate that the modern university has so often become an intellectual department store. The sense in which the American university is to-day at the parting of the ways. The danger and the hope.

The obligation of humanity.—*Noblesse oblige* as giving its good leadership to the older society. The obligation of nobility gone to-day. Need to replace it by something far larger—the obligation of humanity. Need to recognize that power and opportunity are the

measure of responsibility, that what we have and know we owe. With this lesson learned, the hope that the experiment of democracy may achieve success.

TOPICS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. What changes are evident in modern democracy as compared with democracies of earlier times?
2. The value of representative government in relation to the permanence and growth of democracy.
3. The significance of current movements to bring about a more direct expression in government of the popular will.
4. What is the true justification of democracy?
5. The effect on character of the possession and exercise of irresponsible power.
6. What is the true purpose of government?
7. The chief dangers in the path of American democracy.
8. Tendencies in modern society to submerge the individual; tendencies to develop lawless individuals.
9. Causes of the increase of fickleness in American democracy.
10. What changes in American education are necessary in order to meet the problems of modern democracy?
11. How may we educate reverence for moral leadership?
12. The significance of the development of aristocratic exclusiveness in higher educational institutions.
13. The relation of the American college and university to the problem of democracy.
14. The significance of the development of adult public education.
15. To what institutions must we look for the training of moral leadership?

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